2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Youth
In spite of their freedom as children, young people were expected, 882
as they grew up, to be extremely modest and retiring. Girls, after the age of ten, hardly spoke to a man unless he were a relative and then only to offer him food. If a stranger approached the house, they ran out and hid. Since the women did most of their work in large groups, a girl was always completely surrounded and protected.

Boys also were expected to be retiring. As has been mentioned, they did not speak in the meeting until they were mature men: their part was to do the work in silence. No young man ever interrupted an elder. The following typical conversation took place with a young interpreter who had been asked to question an old informant: "Did you ask him (the informant) thus and so?" "I tried to, but he wanted to talk about something else." In such a situation the young man, though paid to ask questions, was powerless.

The writer has several times been told by Papagos, apropos of working for the Whites: "But our young men cannot go out and approach people as yours do. They are taught to be bashful."

Young people were ceaselessly trained in the moral code (see p. 80), 867
whose principal tenets were industry, fortitude and swiftness of foot. 577
Industry was a woman's virtue, without which no girl could hope to be kept as a wife. Fortitude was a virtue of both sexes and Papago life, which was so frequently on the verge of starvation, brought it to the foreground. The augury on all auspicious occasions was: "You will be hunger-enduring, thirst-enduring, cold-enduring." A man undergoing purification for any reason, voluntarily endured these three hardships and boys were urged to practise them regularly on the Spartan principle that one who was slightly hungry and thirsty all the time would not feel the privation in a crisis. There seems no doubt that the Papago were brave in battle, but aggressive courage is never praised in their poetry. All the emotion is called forth on the theme of enduring hardship.

Speed in running might almost be called the root of all virtue. 868
The life of these nomads in flat, open desert country was based 481
on covering long distances. Women were taught to run with the carrying basket, men ran on the hunt and on the warpath. A young man who could not run was nearly useless. Therefore, running came to mean in Papago parlance the mark of an admirable man and the thing which drew to him the attention of the supernaturals. The following admonition by a father to his sons is on this theme:

"Listen well to this talk. To all of it listen! Look well at my mouth. Keep looking and you will learn. Thus I say to you, that this night, while darkness covers us, you are not to sleep early in the evening. You are to listen to me.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

Therefore she was frequently asked, and as a result the story has elaboration and emphasis at some points where she would not have placed them, and it stops short where she would have found repetition comfortable. It is an Indian story told to satisfy Whites rather than Indians.

There were reasons other than intimacy and opportunity for choosing Chona as the narrator. She is not the aberrant type which so frequently attracts the attention of the White investigator. She accepted her culture completely, and one reason for choosing her was that she had come into contact with so many of its important phases. As a woman, she could take no active part in the ceremonial life. But her father was a governor and a warrior; her brother and one husband were shamans; her second husband was a song leader and composer. And a Papago woman's history is interesting in itself, because, in this culture, there persists strongly the fear of woman's impurity with all its consequent social adjustments.

Chona accepted her status without stress or rancor. She was, however, not the ideal Papago female type, for she was inclined to be independent and executive. In her old age, when such qualities were not taboo, she ruled her whole connection with a competent hand. In childhood she had a minor maladjustment, soon overcome: she started to make songs. Making songs is the Papago achievement *par excellence*, all outward acts being considered merely as a preparation for it. Chona was no poet by nature: she was, in fact, an executive. But she had some urge to accomplish, as the men accomplished, and the proper avenue was song making. So Chona made songs and saw visions, and had to have her shaman's crystals cut out by a minor operation.

She submitted, and found compensation in her life of child bearing and hard work. But in old age the urge came on her again, and again there was no outlet but visions. These later visions are pathetic in their lack of originality, and the songs which she assured me she had composed herself were often changed, only by a word or two, from songs which had been well known for years. Many Papago compose in this way, since song making is a *sine qua non* for success in life. None consider it plagiarism, for song making is the spiritual crown conferred on one who has already achieved in the physical world.

Chona, in her way, achieved. She learned a manipulation of sick babies which was much respected. Very possibly she had observed its performance by her first husband who was a shaman, but the Papago pattern did not allow her to recognise this: she had to dream it, and she did. She picked up other bits of practical medicine, and she had a dynamic personality which drew patients to her. In the end she did all that her culture would allow her toward satisfying her desires and she was not unhappy.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

the house as soon as it began; she never waited a minute. She never touched my father's arrows nor even looked at them when she could hurt them. So she told him. Then she went straight out to the Little House so it would be safe for my father to mend his arrows and twist a new bow string. I took her food to her, and every day I would ask: "Has it come?" And on the second day she said: "Yes." So it passed and my father could go.

The men went early in the morning before light, and they were gone eight days. All that time we girls and women kept very quiet. When the older girls came home with a load of wood, they never threw it down hard; they placed it softly. We did not laugh nor talk loud. Old Leaf Buds came to see us. Her husband was going to take care of my father if he was a Killer. And Leaf Buds was going to take care of my mother. So my mother tried to finish the mat she was making, because if my father was a Killer she would have to be purified and then she could not work at all.

She talked to us while she was finishing her work and told us what to do, because she would be gone four times four days. I was little then and I thought it would be good to stop work for so many days. But some of the women did not like it. They asked their husbands not to be Killers. There was once a woman who was making a big basket and she wanted to get it done. But the men made up a war party. So she told her husband she was menstruating and he had to stay home. They say that woman never menstruated again.

The men were gone eight days. I know how that fight was because my father told me. We were not women who were afraid of war power. We were Killers' women.

The men from all the villages met at Basket Cap Mountain, and there my father made them speeches, sitting with his arms folded and talking low as all great men do. Then they sang the war songs:

Oh, bitter wind, keep blowing
That therewith my enemy
Staggering forward
Shall fall.

Oh, bitter wind, keep blowing
That therewith my enemy
Staggering sideways
Shall fall.

Many, many songs they sang but I, a woman, cannot tell you all. I know that they made the enemy blind and dizzy with their singing and that they

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

year-old can also claim indulgence as a young child, and, though older children and adults have control over him, they are obliged to please him so far as is compatible with the general welfare of the household. 867 561

Use here of the words "rule" and "principle" in describing authority among the Papago does not imply a rigid set of laws which the child must learn as he learns that two and two make four; the child is not taught proper behavior by having authority explained to him. He is occasionally reminded that a baby must always be satisfied and that children must always mind their elders, but the child learns chiefly by observation and imitation how to make his control over younger children palatable and how to appeal to adults when older children frustrate him. 867

Certain ideals of Papago behavior are, however, made explicit for the benefit of children. In the evening when the family is gathered together, the grandfather or other adult speaks often and at length on the virtues of industry, honesty, and kindness. In this desert land, where everyone must work together in order to live, an important part of child-training is the emphasis on working hard and on getting along well with other people. Boys and girls are constantly warned to avoid squabbles, and quarreling children are separated and roundly scolded. Adults say, "We tell them to be kind to people and not to quarrel." To the Papago kindness appears to mean the antithesis of quarrelsomeness. It is tolerance, good nature, and respect for other people's rights rather than active benevolence. To instil these desirable qualities, the elders moralize at length, for extensive oral argument is a recognized and conscious method of child-training in this age period and the next. 867 577

LEARNING TO BE WORKERS

Most Papago children begin to share in the work of the family about the time they enter the five-to-ten age group. As noted in the previous chapter, a young girl's play group may be charged with care of the baby while his mother is busy with other tasks. A little girl may be sent to fetch things needed from the house or storeroom for the women working under the ramada. She may bring water from the *charro* or pump and wood from the woodpile, and at this time she learns a few housekeeping chores—sweeping, rolling up bedding for the day, washing dishes, setting the table. An unusually capable girl may begin to assist with cooking or laundry by the time she is ten. 868

Boys in this age group are much more free to do as they please, particularly if they have sisters to help with the household chores. They seldom help with the smaller children unless no female is available, and, though they run errands, fetch water, and chop wood, little else is asked of them. Loitering about the

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter XVI

STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR

153
577

AS WE have seen, selective emphasis and limitations recognizable in freely admitted emotional experiences may implicitly reflect behavior standards. But social standards of behavior are more explicitly and directly revealed in the discrimination between right and wrong, between "good" and "bad" behavior, elicited by the questions of the Moral Ideology Test: "What could a boy (girl) of your age do so that someone would praise him (her) or be pleased?" and "What would be a bad thing to do so that someone would blame him (her) or think badly of him (her)?"

In addition to belief in magical and supernatural forces, the main behavior requirements for smooth functioning of the old Papago society were work, co-operation, and avoidance of aggression. To children these requirements were constantly emphasized by the living examples of their elders and in home teaching, as they still are today (see Part II above).

According to answers given by Papago children to these test questions, doing good work is still recognized as the foremost means of obtaining social approval, and laziness as the most frequent source of blame. The work mentioned is usually concrete, specific, and done for the family; it seldom includes elements of achievement and prestige.

This unequivocal congruency between vital socioeconomic needs and values of behavior (which was found in all Indian tribes studied except the Sioux) is one of the most interesting findings of the Indian Education Research Project, because it throws light upon a source of value formation which is usually obscured in more complex societies.

The high percentage of agreement found in Papago children's definitions of "good" and "bad" as well as the marked agreement between socioeconomic needs and recognized adequate forms of behavior seem to point both to a strong cultural cohesion among the Papago and to a close integration of culture with socioeconomic organization.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

153
577

In the eastern districts, where alien influences have operated for a longer time and where they exert a more constant pressure, uniformity of reaction to good and bad behavior, though still high, is less than in the western districts (see Table 13). In the East we find a higher positive evaluation of thoughtful and kind behavior, consistent with the results obtained through the Emotional Response Test. School and school education are more highly valued. On the negative side, aggression, stealing, and use of bad language are more important.

TABLE 13

"Good and Bad Things To Do" as Described by Children of Two Papago Areas and by White Children (Rounded Percentages of All Responses by Each Group)*

Source	Western Papago	Eastern Papago	All Papago	Whites
Work†	50	35	42	10
Care of property	7	1	3	4
Kindness	4	7	6	11
Doing well in school	1	4	3	10
Aggression	7	13	10	3
Stealing	8	13	12	2
Drinking	3	2	3	2
Use of bad language		1	1	2

* Data from Robert J. Havighurst, "Comparison of the Moral Ideology of American Indian and White Children" (MS). Data for white children are for ages eight to ten. For the purposes of comparison, only the Papago children of these ages are included in the figures for "All Papago" (col. 4). Thus column 4 does not represent an average of columns 2 and 3, which include children six to eighteen.

† Percentages for this item include responses concerning work as a good thing and laziness or shirking as a bad thing.

The patterns of behavior standards revealed by the eastern and western Papago children in the Moral Ideology Test are distinguished chiefly in that in the West the old pattern of co-operative activity is still more prevalent. Psychologically such a pattern puts the satisfaction and security deriving from praise within immediate and constant reach of everybody with average mental and physical capacities; makes good behavior visible and concrete in the completed work; and leaves little room for emotional demonstrations of bad conscience and repentance which would tend to inhibit efficiency. This exteriorization of values probably dissipates interpersonal tensions, much as occupational therapy does, by turning the individual's attention from himself and toward the group through the neutralizing process of work.

In contrast, the pattern of behavior standards shown by children from the eastern districts seems to reveal symptoms of a more internalized, self-directed

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

morality, as indicated by the greater emphasis on character traits like kindness and friendliness rather than on the value of work. Seen together with these children's concern about aggression and other bad behavior and their frequent admissions of anger caused by experienced aggressions as revealed by the Emotional Response Test, this shifting of values suggests the rise of tensions and conflicts which cannot be effectively controlled by the action of work.

The children's answers directly reflect values taught by the missions, as well as disturbances of cultural and socioeconomic cohesion, as is manifest, for example, in the split between Catholic and Presbyterian Papago and in the increasing influence of individual wealth and prestige in a formerly uniform and levelized group (see chaps. vi and vii).

To the Papago, work was centered in and done for the family group. White standards of competition and individual achievement thus must seem to him—and probably are, in effect—in direct opposition to the central institution of his life. The individual who is being slowly deprived of the confident assurance that his world is unquestionably right, absolute, and eternal must then resort to other sources of security and accept other values and standards of behavior.

Christianity, as it has been presented to the eastern Papago for the last thirty years, has obviously become the most important new source of security. In the beginning it may have caused doubt and conflict, but today the Papago's serious and eager participation in mission services and institutions is ample evidence that here he finds security.

The Christian principles of peace, kindness, consideration for one's neighbor, and avoidance of aggression are familiar to the Papago, in whose culture these principles have long had a place. While previously they were devices with a social function, developed out of the needs of Papago family groups and communities and aimed toward their best possible maintenance, these principles are now presented as imperative moral demands of an absolute character, to be pursued by the individual independently of, and if necessary even against, actual requirements of the society. As the scope of these demands is not limited to the accomplishment of certain duties but extends to self-improvement and salvation, "goodness" and "badness" are now becoming the attributes not only of actions but also of thoughts, attitudes, and motives. Psychologically they imply a stronger development of personal conscience and of self-scrutiny and guilt feelings.

Whether and how far this pattern of changing behavior standards fits the changing total psychological and socioeconomic situation we shall see when dealing specifically with the problems of Papago adjustment to white American civilization. At this point a few words should be said about one unexpected

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

153 577 421

result obtained from the Moral Ideology Test in regard to the concept of stealing.

In the old Papago society, stealing was ordinarily done by enemy raiders and did not constitute a problem within the society, for people in need were supported by their relatives. Even today stealing is extremely rare among the Papago. At the same time, we find from this test that there is a discrepancy between the attention given by Papago children to the value of personal property and the concern about stealing as a cause for blame. This trend is more pronounced in the more acculturated eastern districts than it is in the West.

Apparently we are dealing here with a one-sided, negative approach to the concept of property. The value of property beyond subsistence uses has been introduced into Papago society under more pressure than any other white concept. Its positive manifestations—such as the creation of jobs and the establishment of co-operatives for the sale of cattle and horses—have been less generally experienced than its more negative effects—the building of cattle guards between districts, the introduction of relief, and the emphasis laid in school and church upon the sanctity of personal property in the face of a society which, still largely co-operative, is only in the earliest stage of developing an individualistic, competitive system. Sanctions against taking someone else's property were imprinted upon the minds of the Papago before they were allowed to realize that they could acquire property for themselves by legitimate means.

From this point of view the attention given by Papago children to the concept of stealing seems largely a direct effect of a kind of indoctrination not uncommonly used in dealing with minorities. It is characterized by the introduction of new principles through a vanguard of restrictive rules which have no organic basis in the minority group's experience and are only slowly assimilated with opportunities for such experiences and for development of corresponding positive values. The psychological effect of this sort of indoctrination is demonstrated in the world of Papago adults by feuds between districts about grazing land; in that of their children, by bickerings about the ownership of pencils, hair ribbons, and candy sticks.

153 577

Of main interest to us is the conclusion from these findings that, where values similar to those already existing in Papago society have been introduced from outside with comparatively little coercion, there is a certain equilibrium between the development of positive behavior standards and those of restrictive, negative significance—as, for example, between kindness, on the one hand, and avoidance of aggression, on the other. Where, under pressure from a differently oriented society new principles are encroaching upon the Papago, this equilibrium seems to be lacking; and the constructive, positive standards are outweighed by the negative.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

6. A moral law based on complete adjustment to the society that has developed it is being confronted with a morality of personal goodness and badness which does not necessarily coincide with such adjustment and may demand from the individual attitudes and reactions opposed to it. With this goes a far-reaching re-evaluation of the very meaning of goodness and badness in the religious sphere and in that of interpersonal relations.

These are the main areas in which the Papago have been exposed to influences and pressures of an alien society and alien culture. It will easily be seen that all these areas are closely interrelated and that efforts to make changes in them are in effect attacks upon the totality of Papago life.

The fact that the people who carry the extremely complex white culture to the Papago country are recruited from different classes, with greatly divergent backgrounds, reactions, attitudes, and aims, certainly does not lend persuasive strength to force.

The Papago, accustomed to the relative simplicity and consistency of his own patterns of life, soon discovers that accepting the concepts of modern American civilization at face value, as they are taught to him in mission and school, throws him into conflict not only with his own culture but even with many practical demands and aspects of white civilization.

For example, the superintendent of the Agency and the teacher tell him that alcohol is forbidden, harmful, and bad; the innkeeper in town, disregarding laws or scoffing at them, offers him drinks; the white drunkards he meets encourage him to follow their example. The missionaries of both churches teach him brotherly love and the merits of purehearted poverty; but some whites may scorn him as a "dirty and primitive" Indian, and others openly demonstrate the satisfactions and power of wealth. Still other whites complain to him about the injustices they themselves have to suffer from the laws he is asked to admire. The priest points to the miracles of healing through faith in God, and the doctor insists that sickness is a matter of hygiene and "bugs," to be cured through hospitalization and sulfa drugs. Because to a minority group every member of an encroaching majority has a certain authority merely through belonging to the dominant group, independent of any personal qualifications, all these people will represent to the Papago so many models of white civilization.

What to believe and whom to trust are much more crucial difficulties to the Papago than to white people, who are conditioned to accept the intricacies and inconsistencies of their culture as normal and make a distinction between

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

316 ing the crowd would begin to work as near him as pos-
571 sible. No ill feeling or fights ensued; they would each earn from four to five dollars a day. The miners when
515 coming home would always wash after changing their clothes. Considering the trouble of getting water at the only well, their cleanliness may be considered an example even to whites. The women are particularly cleanly, and wash their own clothes frequently as well as those of their husbands.

181 Judge Day and his family, who have been living
● 577 here among the Indians for so long a time, gave very good reports of their neighbors. He had spent twenty-two years among Indians, and considered the Papago the safest. "As a rule, they are honest," he said, "though there are scalawags among them, but these are discredited by their own race. The women will steal trifles, picking up a rope or the like, but the men will seldom do that. The store often gives an Indian twenty dollars on credit, and he will apologize if he does not pay in ninety days. These Indians, like the Mexicans, are pleased to be in debt, because they consider it an honor to be trusted. If the average native *says* he will pay his debt, he will do so."

854 Like all Indians, the Papagoes are kind to their children, the father no less than the mother. An Indian couple were purchasing some articles in the store while I was present; their strong and fat infant was crying continuously in its mother's arms, she trying vainly to stop its wails. Finally, I saw her, with a few words, hand the babe to her husband, a boyish, good-

614 he belonged, but was not forbidden to marry within it. In the same way the whole country was divided into ceremonial halves or moieties known as Buzzard and Coyote. This 46 custom is similar to that of the Mission Indians, distant language relatives of the Papagos. But whereas the moieties of the Mission Indians forbade marriage of one moiety member with another and have given to the moiety many ceremonial duties, the Papagos know Buzzard and Coyote as names only and there are no rules or ceremonies connected with them.

841 Many of the old Papago ceremonies dealing with birth 844 and death are no longer practiced but there are enough 846 old people living so that we can at least have an account of them. A mother, about to give birth to a child, went to a separate hut kept for "dangerous women." Not only women in childbirth but women in their periods came under this heading, for the strange power of reproduction seemed to the Papagos fraught with magic and death. The new mother remained in this segregation hut for a month before she and her baby might emerge. Then the medicine man gave them both a mixture of clay to drink while he pronounced a purification formula.

881 Young children were continually urged to be industrious for this was the supreme Papago virtue. Boys were [577 461] expected to have a dream which would tell them what career to choose and give them power to follow it. Girls usually did not dream but when they reached maturity a special ceremony was held for them. The girls were kept apart from others for four days, then bathed and brought out to dance with the whole village. Sometimes this dance continued every night for a month, and at the end of that time the strange new power which had visited the girl was thought to be tamed. Her parents soon visited the par- 582 ents of an industrious youth and arranged that the two should be mated. There was no marriage ceremony other than the coming of the boy to the girl's house and taking her home with him after four days. They lived with the